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AMERICA AND FREEDOM

being the Statements of PRESIDENT WILSON on the War

with a Preface by

The Rt. Hon. VISCOUNT GREY

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Preface.

TWO great events there have been in this year so full of hope and ultimate good prospect, that each when it occurred quickened our thoughts, raised our spirits, and even in the terrible strain and anxiety of the present made us look up and look forward to the future with confidence.

One of these events is the Russian Revolution, with which this paper is not concerned and which is mentioned here very shortly only because it is too important to be passed entirely without notice, and because it is by no means irrelevant to relations between the Allies and the United States. A revolution of the magnitude of the Russian revolution cannot take place without some excesses, some dark days, and a period of great confusion. The effect of this confusion on military action is unfavourable, and we cannot and should not ignore the fact that the strain upon the armies of the other Allies has thereby been greatly increased and their task made harder than ever at one very critical moment of the War. Nevertheless, Russia free may yet become more powerful in the war for freedom and far more helpful in the making of peace than she could ever have been under a reactionary Government.

And nothing should shake our confidence that in the long run the change in Russia must be a great good, not only for Russia but for Europe, and, indeed, for the world. A free Russia is a splendid increase of freedom in the world, and whatever the immediate and passing effect upon the progress of the War, the future effect upon democracy in Europe and upon international relations generally must be most favourable and of incalculable value and benefit. The other great event is the entry of the United States of America into the War against Prussianized Germany, which is the subject of this publication.

The entry of the United States into the War is a tremendous fact even when considered only in the limited aspect of its direct effect upon the War. Let us consider this aspect by itself first.

Before the War the United States had become potentially the strongest country in the world; not the largest in number of population—China, no doubt, has that superiority—but the strongest, if account is taken of the combined value of numbers, extent of undivided territory, unity of public spirit, power of organization, material resources, and all that goes to make effective strength. During the War the United States has gained in wealth, while the European belligerents—Germany as much as any—have spent strength, and now after three years of war

Germany in an advanced state of exhaustion, with all those whom she has attacked still in the field, has to reckon with the United States. One qualification, no doubt, must be made, and it is important. The full strength of the United States is not yet mobilized for war; that will take time, and it is, therefore, true that their intervention in the War cannot be by military or naval action decisive in a short time; but it is equally true that no conceivable military or naval success of the German arms in Europe could now secure a German peace. Germany cannot get peace and the economic recovery, which she at least as much as the other great European belligerents needs, except on the conditions that the United States may consider essential to their own interests and to the future peace and freedom of the world. It is impossible to get round this fact, and it is not surprising that Germany dare not face it and turns her back upon it that she may not face it, for that is what the organized silence and contempt in Germany of the action of the United States really mean.

But there is another aspect of the entry of the United States into the War that is much greater, of deeper significance and more far-reaching consequence. It is to be seen in the reasons and spirit of the decision taken by the President and the nation. The public utterances of President Wilson when announcing the decision and

subsequently are full of it and are inspired by it." The United States have departed from the policy of isolation not from favour to one set of combatants against another, nor even from sympathy with one side against the other, real and strong though the sympathy with some of the Allies has been in large sections of the American people since the outbreak of the War. This has not been the motive that forced the tremendous national decision, but a growing conviction which gradually became settled, deep, and paramount, that this terrible war is a desperate and critical struggle against something evil and intensely dangerous to moral law, to international good faith, to everything that is essential if different nations are to live together in the world in equal freedom and friendship. The will to power—it is a German phrase—has shown in the course of this war that it knows neither mercy, pity, nor limits. Militarism is one quality of it, and it stands for things that all democracies, if they wish to remain free and to be part of a world that is free, must hate. This conviction and a sense that the old barriers of the world are broken down by modern conditions, that the cause of humanity is one, and that no nation so great and free as the United States could stand aside in this crisis without sacrificing its honour and losing its soul, are—so we believe —the real motive and cause of the decision of

the United States. Democracies are reluctant to take such decisions until they are attacked or until their own material interests are directly and deeply involved, and the United States did not take the decision till German action in the War made it imperative; but then they took it with a clearness, an emphasis, and a declaration of principle that will be one of the landmarks and shining examples of all human history.

Comparison may be made between the entry of the United States into the War and that of the British people. There is some resemblance, but there is a difference. The outrageous invasion of Belgium, involving special and separate Treaty obligations, left Great Britain at the outset no alternative; her decision had to be sudden; the whole people felt at once that there was no honourable way of avoiding war. Articles have been written since to show that the interest of Great Britain was directly involved, that though Belgium and France were attacked she, too, was threatened, and all that is true. Numerous public utterances in Germany since the War began have disclosed that the German purpose was to subject not only Belgium and France, but also Great Britain, to German predominance. But the British people had no time at the outset to consider where their interest lay; had it not been so they would have taken time to consider and to argue, but as things were honour was so

clearly and peremptorily challenged, and sympathy so deeply outraged by the initial action of Germany that there was no time for consideration and no place for argument. This it was that made the decision of the British people so practically unanimous, so quick, and so thorough. The decision of the United States was slow and deliberate ; it is apparently not less unanimous and thorough, and each decision will have its own impressiveness in history.

On our first entry into the War we were, as the United States now is, free to decide our own part and our own terms of peace. When Japan entered the War the obligation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance to make war and peace in common came into effect ; then the agreement of September, 1914, made mutual and binding agreements between ourselves and France and Russia, and our position now is that of the other nations who are parties to the agreement of September, 1914. The United States are independent of that agreement : this is a difference, important and definite, though, I believe, it will be small in practical effect compared with the deep underlying identity of view, principle, and feeling.

President Wilson said the other day that this is a conflict for " human liberty." That is what the Allies have been made by German action in the War to feel more and more deeply, and this

feeling is a greater bond of union than anything else. There is one more thing to be added. I was talking the other day to a man who had been some two years at the front and was home for ten days' leave. Of all feelings, those that have the most right to be considered with attention and deference are the feelings of the men who are risking their lives and undergoing the awful trial and suffering of trench warfare. In this man's feeling there was no hatred and no passion; there was great weariness and great longing for the end of the War, but an intense desire to see the War end in such a way that, if he survived, the rest of his life—he is a young man—should be free from war and threats of war. That too, as I understand, is President Wilson's policy and purpose—human liberty and secure peace.

Permanent peace has hitherto been an ideal; will a League of Nations or some concrete proposal of that kind become practicable after this war? Will the ideal come within the limits of practical, effective politics? This is too large a question to be discussed here. My own hope and belief is that it will. This war will bring about a new order of things. In domestic affairs old questions will be swept off the board of politics by new problems and new questions, to which many of the old phrases, the old formulas and previous points of view will not be applicable,

and new men will perhaps be needed to solve the new problems. And in international politics new ideas may prevail, and things hitherto impossible may become possible. How much becomes possible will depend upon the change effected by the experience of this war, not so much in men's heads as in their hearts and feelings, and this we shall not know fully till the millions of men who have fought at the front are settled at home again and take their places in civil and political life in free democracies. If the result of this war is to destroy in Germany the popularity of war—for before 1914 the prospect of war was popular, at any rate in books that were widely read there without resentment, if not with approval—if war is felt even in Germany to be hateful; if as a result of this war men of all nations will desire in future to stamp out the first sign of war as they would a forest fire or the plague, then the world may have a peace and security that it has never yet known. If that is not the result, then the lot of mankind in this epoch of its history will be more desperate than in the darkest and most cruel ages, for civilized nations will prepare and perfect the destructive inventions of science, and these will be used to the point of mutual extermination. Militarism and civilization are now incompatible, and nations must attain some greater measure of international self-control than has previously been thought

possible if civilization is to progress or even to be preserved.

We hear—and no doubt it is true—that the German people long for peace, but they are not yet masters in their own house; the recent political crisis in Germany produced some change of men, but no evidence of a change of the ruling spirit; the message of the Crown Prince, who seems to have played a leading part in the crisis, ended with something about compelling others to respect the German flag as the *ultima ratio regum*. There was not a word in it about respect for the rights of others. Before the world can rely on the speeches of German Chancellors it must know to whom the German Chancellor is responsible. Is it to the Reichstag, or is it solely to the Emperor? And by whose favour is he chosen and maintained in place? Is it by the Emperor, the Crown Prince, and the Military Command? We want to be sure that when this war is over Germany will not begin to prepare and to plan for the next war, and there can be no security against that so long as the Prussian military caste is the strongest power in Germany. They will never give up the will to power, and that is incompatible with peace because it is inconsistent with the freedom and equal rights of other nations.

Much has been said about the resolution passed by the Reichstag in July. It is frequently

difficult to be sure exactly what Parliamentary resolutions mean. They are often drawn to enable people who do not all mean the same thing to vote together for the same words, and there was apparently not unanimity in Germany as to the exact meaning of the Reichstag resolution. There are, however, two questions to be asked about the resolution: (1) Does the German Government endorse it and interpret it in the way in which it is interpreted by those in this country who take the most favourable view of it? (2) Is it to be a principle accepted and acted upon in Germany that the Government, by which is meant the Executive Power, is responsible to the Reichstag? It is quite right that the resolution of the Reichstag should not be ignored; the fact that some resolution of the kind was found necessary or was even permitted has some importance; but until the two questions asked above can be answered clearly and satisfactorily I do not see how discussion of the value to be attached to this resolution of the Reichstag can profitably be carried further.

It might be, no doubt, that if the War ended to-morrow in an inconclusive peace the disappointment and war weariness of the German people would subsequently bring about a real change of power in Germany. Some evidence analogous to Bismarck's disclosure about the draft of the Ems telegram—something, for

instance, showing that the ultimatum to Serbia was deliberately made stiff to make war certain —might come to light and reveal to the German people that strings were pulled in Germany in 1914 with fatal effect by persons who desired and intended war ; and such revelation coming after the experience of the last three years might be so hateful to the German people as to upset the military caste. It is possible ; but to make peace on this hope would be gambling upon a chance, and the things at stake are too vital and awful for gambling. There is no end yet to the official deception and self-deception of the German people about the War, and as long as they ignore or are ignorant of the real facts about the origin of the War and the awful outrages perpetrated by their own Higher Command, particularly in the occupied parts of Belgium and France, for which, in the name of all that is right and just, there must be reparation, so long, it is to be feared, will the German people do nothing of their own initiative to remove the obstacles to peace.

The root of the matter is in President Wilson's words : " A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. It must be a league of honour and partnership of opinion." Let it be admitted that no such partnership will be complete or secure

till Germany fulfils the conditions for it and is included in it; and when it is evident that at a peace conference table the Allies will meet German plenipotentiaries who will accept and share in letter and spirit, and will represent German authority that also accepts and shares in letter and spirit, the views of national policy and the aspirations for the future of the world that are the matter of President Wilson's public declarations, then there will rightly be the strongest movements here and in the Allied countries to discuss peace and to end the terrible destruction of life and all the horrors of war; but till this is so the War is and will remain on the part of the United States and the Allies a defensive war, a war to defend human liberty and free nations from present and future military aggression.

There is but one other point on which I would touch; it is the prospective relations between Great Britain and the United States. Mr. Balfour's mission has, we hope, done something to make it felt in the United States that there is real community of ideas, sentiments, and sympathy. This country was fortunate in having Mr. Balfour to represent it on such a mission at such a time, and he very likely did more to promote understanding of us in America than any one else could have done in the time. And the more closely the two people

come into contact, the better they get to know each other, the more I believe it will be apparent to each not only that they speak the same language, but that they use it to mean the same things, that they both have the same idea of freedom and liberty, and desire the same sort of world in which to live. There is no reason in the forms of a Constitutional Monarchy why the British people should not be as free, as truly and thoroughly a democracy, as any republic can be. The American Colonies of the eighteenth century by the War of Independence established not only independence but democracy. The States of Europe, whose internal conditions were then different from those in America, were not yet ready for the same measure of democracy. Russia is only just beginning to establish it, but the change there promises to be thorough. All the other great States of Europe, except Germany (I omit Austria-Hungary because it is more impossible than ever to define the internal conditions of that mixed Empire), are now in form and in spirit and in fact democratic. Great Britain has attained it not less surely and thoroughly than others by the processes of political evolution. In all dealings I have had with Americans, official and unofficial, I have felt that the outlook upon national and individual life was the same. No written agreement is necessary to draw the two nations together or to

keep them in friendship; what is needed is that each should continually see in the utterances of representative men, and in the writings of the press, not the eccentricities and the fringe, but the real stuff of national feeling; not the froth and eddies, but the main deep current of public opinion in both countries.

That is what we feel about President Wilson's recent announcements. They satisfy, they carry conviction, they make us feel that we really know what he thinks and why he thinks it and how firmly he grasps it; and we hope that the response from public men and from the press on this side is making the President and people of the United States feel that we really do respond earnestly and truly; that the sentiments and principles expressed by him are ours also, and that in what he has said of this war and of his hopes for the future he has spoken what is also in our minds and hearts.

If the millions of dear lives that have been given in this war are to have been given not in vain, if there is to be any lasting compensation for the appalling suffering of the last three years, the defeat of the Prussian will to power, however it is brought about, will not by itself be enough. Out of that defeat must come something constructive, some moral change in international relations, and the entry of the United States of America into the War, in the spirit and with the

principles that have inspired their action, is an invaluable and, I trust, a sure and unconquerable guarantee that in the peace and after the peace these hopes will be realized.

GREY OF FALLODON.

August 2, 1917.

America and Freedom

I.

Introduction.

IT may be frankly admitted that a considerable number of British people have viewed with some impatience the slowness of the United States to make up its mind; and President Wilson's masterly statesmanship has been interpreted as inactivity, vacillation, or dilettantism.

The reason is not far to seek: the people of this country have little knowledge of America and its problems. A republic of a hundred million inhabitants of divers races, including large numbers of citizens who once owed allegiance to the various states in Europe now at war with each other, and still larger numbers whose fathers and grandfathers emigrated from Germany, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy, and the Balkan States, can hardly be expected to enter upon a war lightly. Moreover, it must be remembered that the United States is a new country, bending all its energies to the immediate and pressing

problems of a young state. The real centre of gravity of the United States is not the Eastern seaboard which looks out across the Atlantic towards Europe, but the great Middle West, which is intent upon road-making, school-building, and all the hundred and one tasks of development upon which its prosperity and its future depend. Again, America has been far removed from the turmoil of European politics; its citizens for the most part have been even less interested in international politics—and less conversant with them—than the people of Britain. The history textbooks from which the present generation of United States citizens drew their information were not of a sort to raise much enthusiasm for foreign affairs, or calculated to improve the relations between Britain and America.

It would not be surprising if a democratic republic, deeply preoccupied with its own affairs, should regard a European war, as Mr. Lloyd George said, as something in the nature of a dynastic squabble. The War must have seemed distant to them, an echo hardly heard amid the activities of a people feverishly engaged upon the development of its vast natural resources. Not only was the War distant, but it was an outrageous disturbance of the peace, and the people of the United States are above all things pacific. Whilst they have not logically worked out the responsibilities which

a democratic State must undertake in the world, they have instinctively reached the conclusion that democracy and militarism, democracy and war, are impossible bedfellows.

It is a great testimony to President Wilson's statesmanship that he held his hand until this pacific republic of many races was convinced of the necessity for war. The entry of one after another State into the War may be explained by the cynically minded on grounds of self-interest; America's intervention must be counted, in Mr. Asquith's words, as "one of the most disinterested acts in history." President Wilson has stated American aims in unequivocal language: "We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquests and no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, and no material compensation for sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind, and shall be satisfied when those rights are as secure as fact and the freedom of nations can make them." There can be little doubt that the entry of America into the War will prevent the objects of the War as defined by Mr. Asquith and Viscount Grey from being lost to sight in the actual work of prosecuting it. Further, the sane idealism of President Wilson will be a powerful force when the War is ended. We shall all echo the words of the Prime Minister when he rejoiced in the knowledge that America

will be " at the conference table when the terms of peace are being discussed."

The speeches of President Wilson are well worth careful study for their clear statement of American ideals and policy. It is certain that the United States of America has now definitely and permanently entered the arena of world politics. The era of transatlantic isolation began to draw to a close when she became possessed of foreign territories; it is now at an end. Her interests are human interests; even the Western Hemisphere is not a self-contained entity which can cut itself adrift from the Eastern Hemisphere. America's new rôle as a fully fledged world Power will bring a new force into play in the sphere of international relations.

The United States is no Britain beyond the seas, as it was in the days of the early settlers. It is a new type of state where a thousand elements, differing in race and origin and outlook, have been fused by the working of free institutions into a single Commonwealth. It has, therefore, its own contribution to make to civilization, and its own problems to face in the world. Yet the basis of its corporate life, the principles behind its institutions and its laws, the ideals which it is endeavouring to realize, are fundamentally identical with those of the British Commonwealth. The turn of events has flung into a new comrade-

ship the American federation of states and the British Commonwealth of nations. From this close association in the service of a common ideal, the spiritual kinship will be immeasurably strengthened. Inevitably, the bonds of friendship will be drawn closer, and the world will perhaps witness, not a political alliance of the old kind, but a definite understanding to safeguard liberty and justice.

But American participation in the War will not merely bring the United States and Britain into more intimate relations; it will render the discussion of "a league of honour" inevitable. The Allied Powers have declared their adhesion to the principle of a league of nations. President Wilson in his speeches during the War has claimed it in eloquent language as an ideal close to the heart of the American people. America, therefore, will be a powerful addition to the body of opinion seeking to establish a league of this kind. Dr. Woodrow Wilson has succinctly stated its scope in words which will rally new support to the movement: "A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by the partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. There must be a league of honour and partnership of opinion." Will the American people believe that intervention in the War has been justified unless they

see a league of nations realized and the principles of right and justice vindicated? There can be no shadow of doubt about the answer. The entry of America into the War has converted "a league of honour" from a probability to a certainty.

Mr. Lloyd George recently said that "the advent of the United States into this War gives the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict"; it is equally true that it gives "the final stamp and seal" to the character of the international order which will be built upon the ruins of the past. It is no blind accident which has brought together the democratic peoples of the earth as comrades in arms, and no mere chance which in the midst of a great war has led the Russian people to overthrow autocracy. The democratic peoples are engaged in a struggle to preserve the supremacy of their principles in the world. The War can but clear the ground; liberty and justice will be won for mankind only when they are enshrined in a partnership of free nations. This is fully recognized by President Wilson when he says: "We shall fight....for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself at last free."

It is with this vow upon her lips that America takes up the sword, making doubly secure the coming of the new freedom, and heartening

with a noble message of hope and inspiration those upon whom the War has laid heavy burdens.

II.

Mr. Lloyd George at the American Luncheon Club, April 12, 1917.

I AM in the happy position, I think, of being the first British Minister of the Crown who, speaking on behalf of the people of this country, can salute the American nation as comrades in arms. I am glad. I am proud. I am glad not merely because of the stupendous resources which this great nation can bring to the succour of the Alliance, but I rejoice as a democrat that the advent of the United States into this War gives the final stamp and seal to the character of the conflict as a struggle against military autocracy throughout the world.

That was the note that rang through the great deliverance of President Wilson. The United States of America have a noble tradition, never broken, of having never engaged in a war except for liberty, and this is the greatest struggle for liberty they have ever embarked upon. I am not at all surprised, when one recollects the wars of the past, that America took its time to make up its mind about the character of this struggle. In Europe most of the great wars of the past were waged for dynastic aggrandizements and for

conquest. No wonder that when this great War started there were some elements of suspicion still lurking in the minds of the people of the United States of America.....

The fact that the United States of America has made up its mind finally makes it abundantly clear to the world that this is no struggle of that character, but a great fight for human liberty....

There are two great facts which clinch the argument that this is a great struggle for freedom. The first is the fact that America has come in. She could not have done otherwise. The second is the Russian Revolution. When France in the eighteenth century sent her soldiers to America to fight for the freedom and independence of that land France also was an autocracy. But when the Frenchmen were in America their aim was freedom, their atmosphere was freedom, and their inspiration was freedom. They acquired a taste for freedom and they took it home, and France became free. That is the story of Russia. Russia engaged in this great War for the freedom of Serbia, of Montenegro, and Bulgaria. Russians have fought for the freedom of Europe, and they wanted to make their own country free. They have done it. The Russian Revolution is not merely the outcome of the struggle for freedom. It is a proof of its character as a struggle for liberty. And if the Russian people realize, as there is evidence they are doing, that national

discipline is not incompatible with national freedom, and know that national discipline is essential to the security of national freedom, they will indeed become a free people....

We know what America can do; and we also know that now she is in it she will do it. She will wage an effective and successful war.

There is something more important. She will ensure a beneficent peace. I am the last man in the world—knowing for three years what our difficulties have been, what our anxieties have been, what our fears have been—to deny that the succour which is given us from America is something to rejoice in, and rejoice greatly in; but I do not mind telling you that I rejoice even more in the knowledge that America is going to win her right to be at the conference table when the terms of peace are being discussed. That conference will settle the destiny of nations, the course of human life, for God knows how many ages. It would have been a tragedy for mankind if America had not been there, and there with all the influence, and the power, and the right which she has now won by flinging herself into this great struggle.

I can see peace coming now, not a peace which would be a beginning of war, not a peace which would be an endless preparation for strife and bloodshed; but a real peace. The world is an old world which has never had peace. It has

been rocking, swaying like the ocean, and Europe —poor Europe—has always lived under the menace of the sword. When this War began two-thirds of Europe was under autocratic rule. It is the other way about now, and democracy means peace. The democracy of France did not want war. The democracy of Italy hesitated long before entering the war. The democracy of this country shrank from it and shuddered, and would never have entered that cauldron if it had not been for the invasion of Belgium. Democracy sought peace, strove for peace, and if Prussia had been a democracy there would have been no war.

But strange things have happened in this War, and stranger things are to come—and they are coming rapidly. There are times in history when the world spins so leisurely along its destined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. There are also times when it rushes along at a giddy pace covering the track of centuries in a year. These are the times we are living in now. Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy. She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. To-day we are waging the most devastating war that the world has ever seen. To-morrow—not perhaps a distant to-morrow—war may be abolished for ever from the categories of human crimes.

III.

Text of President Wilson's Note as communicated by the United States Ambassador on December 20, 1916.

THE President of the United States has instructed me to suggest to the Government of His Britannic Majesty a course of action with regard to the present War which he hopes that His Majesty's Government will take under consideration, as suggested in the most friendly spirit and as coming not only from a friend, but also as coming from the representative of a neutral nation, whose interests have been most seriously affected by the War, and whose concern for its early conclusion arises out of a manifest necessity to determine how best to safeguard those interests if the War is to continue.

The suggestion which I am instructed to make the President has long had it in mind to offer. He is somewhat embarrassed to offer it at this particular time, because it may now seem to have been prompted by the recent overtures of the Central Powers. It is, in fact, in no way associated with them in its origin, and the President would have delayed offering it until those overtures had been answered, but for the

fact that it also concerns the question of peace and may best be considered in connexion with other proposals which have the same end in view. The President can only beg that his suggestion be considered entirely on its own merits, and as if it had been made in other circumstances.

The President suggests that an early occasion be sought to call out from all the nations now at war such an avowal of their respective views as to the terms upon which the War might be concluded, and the arrangements which would be deemed satisfactory as a guarantee against its renewal or the kindling of any similar conflict in the future, as would make it possible frankly to compare them. He is indifferent as to the means taken to accomplish this. He would be happy himself to serve, or even to take the initiative in its accomplishment, in any way that might prove acceptable, but he has no desire to determine the method or the instrumentality. One way will be as acceptable to him as another, if only the great object he has in mind be attained.

He takes the liberty of calling attention to the fact that the objects which the statesmen of the belligerents on both sides have in mind in this War are virtually the same, as stated in general terms to their own people and to the world. Each side desires to make the rights and privileges of weak peoples and small States as

secure against aggression or denial in the future as the rights and privileges of the great and powerful States now at war. Each wishes itself to be made secure in the future, along with all other nations and peoples, against the recurrence of wars like this, and against aggression or selfish interference of any kind. Each would be jealous of the formation of any more rival leagues to preserve an uncertain balance of power amidst multiplying suspicions; but each is ready to consider the formation of a League of Nations to ensure peace and justice throughout the world. Before that final step can be taken, however, each deems it necessary first to settle the issues of the present War upon terms which will certainly safeguard the independence, the territorial integrity, and the political and commercial freedom of the nations involved.

In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world the people and the Government of the United States are as vitally and as directly interested as the Governments now at war. Their interest, moreover, in the means to be adopted to relieve the smaller and weaker peoples of the world of the peril of wrong and violence is as quick and ardent as that of any other people or Government. They stand ready, and even eager, to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends when the War is over with every influence and resource at their

command. But the War must first be concluded. The terms upon which it is to be concluded they are not at liberty to suggest; but the President does feel that it is his right and his duty to point out their intimate interest in its conclusion, lest it should presently be too late to accomplish the greater things which lie beyond its conclusion, lest the situation of neutral nations, now exceedingly hard to endure, be rendered altogether intolerable, and lest, more than all, an injury be done civilization itself which can never be atoned or repaired.

The President, therefore, feels altogether justified in suggesting an immediate opportunity for a comparison of views as to the terms which must precede those ultimate arrangements for the peace of the world which all desire, and in which the neutral nations as well as those at war are ready to play their full responsible part. If the contest must continue to proceed towards undefined ends by slow attrition until one group of belligerents or the other is exhausted, if million after million of human lives must continue to be offered up until on the one side or the other there are no more to offer, if resentments must be kindled that can never cool and despairs engendered from which there can be no recovery, hopes of peace and of the willing concert of free peoples will be rendered vain and idle.

The life of the entire world has been profoundly

affected. Every part of the great family of mankind has felt the burden and terror of this unprecedented contest of arms. No nation in the civilized world can be said in truth to stand outside its influence or to be safe against its disturbing effects. And yet the concrete objects for which it is being waged have never been definitely stated.

The leaders of the several belligerents have, as has been said, stated those objects in general terms. But, stated in general terms, they seem the same on both sides. Never yet have the authoritative spokesmen of either side avowed the precise objects which would, if attained, satisfy them and their people that the War had been fought out. The world has been left to conjecture what definitive results, what actual exchange of guarantees, what political or territorial changes or readjustments, what stage of military success even, would bring the War to an end.

It may be that peace is nearer than we know; that the terms which the belligerents on the one side and on the other would deem it necessary to insist upon are not so irreconcilable as some have feared; that an interchange of views would clear the way at least for conference and make the permanent concord of the nations a hope of the immediate future, a concert of nations immediately practicable.

The President is not proposing peace; he is not even offering mediation. He is merely proposing that soundings be taken in order that we may learn, the neutral nations with the belligerents, how near the haven of peace may be for which all mankind longs with an intense and increasing longing. He believes that the spirit in which he speaks and the objects which he seeks will be understood by all concerned, and he confidently hopes for a response which will bring a new light into the affairs of the world.

IV.

President Wilson's Speech to U.S. Senate on Terms of Peace, January 22, 1917.

GENTLEMEN OF THE SENATE,—On the 18th of December last I addressed an identic Note to the Governments of the nations now at war requesting them to state, more definitely than they had yet been, by either group of belligerents, the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace.

I spoke on behalf of humanity and of the rights of all neutral nations like our own, many of whose most vital interests the War puts in constant jeopardy.

The Central Powers united in a reply which stated merely that they were ready to meet their antagonists in conference to discuss terms of peace.

The Entente Powers have replied much more definitely, and have stated, in general terms indeed, but with sufficient definiteness to imply details, the arrangements, guarantees, and acts of reparation which they deem to be the indispensable conditions of a satisfactory settlement.

We are much nearer a definite discussion of

the peace which shall end the present War. We are that much nearer the discussion of the international concert which must thereafter hold the world at peace. In every discussion of the peace that must end this War it is taken for granted that peace must be followed by definite concert of the Powers which will make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe should ever overwhelm us again. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man, must take that for granted.

I have sought this opportunity to address you because I thought that I owed it to you, as the council associated with me in the final determination of our international obligations, to disclose to you without reserve the thought and purpose that have been taking form in my mind with regard to the duty of our Government in the days to come, when it will be necessary to lay afresh and upon a new plan the foundations of peace among the nations.

It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such a service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their policy and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honourable hope that it might in all that it

was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot in honour withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.

That service is nothing less than this: To add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to guarantee peace and justice throughout the world. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a league for peace. I am here to attempt to state those conditions.

The present War must first be ended, but we owe it to candour and to a just regard for the opinion of mankind to say that, so far as our participation in guarantees of future peace is concerned, it makes a great deal of difference in what way and upon what terms it is ended.

The treaties and agreements which bring it to an end must embody terms that will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged.

We shall have no voice in determining what those terms shall be, but we shall, I feel sure, have a voice in determining whether they shall be made lasting or not by the guarantees of a universal covenant; and our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards, when it may be too late.

No covenant of co-operative peace that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; and yet there is only one sort of peace that the peoples of America could join in guaranteeing. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence and satisfy the principles of the American Government, elements consistent with the political faith and the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all embraced and undertaken to defend.

I do not mean to say that any American Government would throw any obstacle in the way of any terms of peace the Governments now at war might agree upon, or seek to upset them when made, whatever they might be. I only take it for granted that mere terms of peace between the belligerents will not satisfy even the belligerents themselves. Mere agreements may not make peace secure.

It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the

settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged, or any alliance hitherto formed or projected, that no nation, no probable combination of nations, could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.

The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: Is the present a struggle for a just and secure peace or only for a new balance of power? If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. There must be, not a balance of power, but a community of power; not organized rivalries, but an organized common peace.

Fortunately we have received very explicit assurances on this point.

The statesmen of both of the groups of nations now arrayed against one another have said, in terms that could not be misinterpreted, that it was no part of the purpose they had in mind to crush their antagonists. But the implications of these assurances may not be equally clear to all—may not be the same on both sides of the

water. I think it will be serviceable if I attempt to set forth what we understand them to be.

They imply, first of all, that it must be a peace without victory.

I beg that I may be permitted to put my own interpretation upon it, and that it may be understood that no other interpretation was in my thought. I am seeking only to face realities, and to face them without soft concealments.

Victory would mean peace forced upon the loser, a victor's terms imposed upon the vanquished. It would be accepted in humiliation, under duress, at intolerable sacrifice, and would leave a sting, a resentment, a bitter memory upon which terms of peace would rest, not permanently, but only as upon quicksand. Only a peace between equals can last—only a peace the very principle of which is equality and a common participation in a common benefit. The right state of mind, the right feeling between nations, is as necessary for a lasting peace as is the just settlement of vexed questions of territory or of racial and national allegiance.

The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded, if it is to last, must be an equality of rights; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small; between those that are powerful and those that are weak. Right must be based upon the common strength, not upon

the individual strength, of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.

Equality of territory or of resources there, of course, cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoises of power.

And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations.

No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from potentate to potentate as if they were property.

I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed to all peoples who have lived hitherto under the power of Governments devoted to a faith and purpose hostile to their own.

I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have

sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities.

Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset. It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers should be assured a direct outlet to the great highways of the sea.

Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it no doubt can be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under the general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

And the paths of the sea must alike in law and in fact be free. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and co-operation.

No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration

of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind; but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development. It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the Governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

It is a problem closely connected with the limitation of naval armaments and the co-operation of the navies of the world in keeping the seas at once free and safe, and the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of the limitation of armies and of all programmes of military preparation. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candour and decided in a spirit of real accommodation, if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice.

There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great and preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and

there to be built up and maintained. The statesmen of the world must plan for peace, and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry.

The question of armament, whether on land or on sea, is the most immediately and intensely practical question connected with the future fortunes of nations and of mankind.

I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness, because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance.

Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back. I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking also, of course, as the responsible head of a great Government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say.

May I not add that I hope and believe that I am in effect speaking for liberals and friends of humanity in every nation and of every programme of liberty? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the

persons and the homes they hold most dear. And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named, I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfilment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for.

I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: that no nation should seek to extend its polity over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. There is no entangling alliance in a concert of power. When all unite to act in the same sense and with the same purpose, all act in common interest and are free to live their own lives under a common protection.

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the people of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And yet they are the principles and policies of forward-looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind, and must prevail.

V.

President Wilson's Speech to Congress, February 3, 1917.

GENTLEMEN OF CONGRESS,—The Imperial German Government on Jan. 31 announced to this Government and the Governments of other neutral nations that on and after Feb. 1 (the present month) it would adopt a policy in regard to the use of submarines against all shipping seeking to pass through certain designated areas on the high seas to which it is clearly my duty to call your attention.

Let me remind Congress that on April 8 last, in view of the sinking on March 24 of the cross-Channel passenger steamer Sussex by a German submarine without summons or warning, and the consequent loss of lives of several citizens of the United States who were passengers on board her, this Government addressed a Note to the Imperial German Government in which it made the following declaration:—

> If it is still the purpose of the Imperial German Government to prosecute relentless and indiscriminating warfare against vessels of commerce by the use of submarines, without regard to what the Government of the United

States must consider the sacred, indisputable rules of international law and the universally recognized dictates of humanity, the Government of the United States is at last forced to the conclusion that there is but one course it can pursue. Unless the Imperial Government now and immediately declare and effect the abandonment of its present methods of submarine warfare against passenger and freight-carrying vessels, the Government of the United States can have no choice but to sever diplomatic relations with the German Empire.

In reply to this declaration the Imperial German Government gave this Government the following assurance :—

The German Government is prepared to do its utmost to confine the operations of the War for the rest of its duration to the fighting forces of the belligerents, thereby also ensuring the freedom of the seas, a principle upon which the German Government believes itself now, as before, to be in agreement with the Government of the United States. The German Government, guided by this idea, notifies the Government of the United States that the German naval forces have received the following orders :—

" In accordance with the general principles of visit, search, and destruction of merchant

vessels, recognized by international law, such vessels, both within and without the area declared to be a naval war zone, shall not be sunk without warning and without the saving of human lives unless these ships attempt to escape or offer resistance."

But it added :—

Neutrals cannot expect that Germany, forced to fight for her existence, shall, for the sake of neutral interest, restrict the use of an effective weapon, if her enemy is permitted to continue to apply at will methods of warfare violating the rules of international law. Such a demand would be incompatible with the character of neutrality, and the German Government is convinced that the Government of the United States does not think of making such a demand, knowing that the Government of the United States has repeatedly declared that it is determined to restore the principle of the freedom of the seas from whatever quarter it has been violated.

To this the Government of the United States replied on May 8, accepting, of course, the assurances given, but adding :—

The Government of the United States feels it necessary to state that it takes it for granted that the Imperial Government does not intend

to imply that the maintenance of its newly announced policy is in any way contingent upon the course or result of diplomatic negotiation between the Government of the United States and any other belligerent Government, notwithstanding the fact that certain passages of the Imperial Government's Note of the 4th inst. might appear to be susceptible of that construction. In order, however, to avoid misunderstanding the Government of the United States notifies the Imperial Government that it cannot for a moment entertain, much less discuss, the suggestion that respect by the German naval authorities for the rights of citizens of the United States upon the high sea should in any way or in the slightest degree be made contingent upon the conduct of any other Government affecting the rights of neutrals and non-combatants. The responsibility in such matters is single, not joint—absolute, not relative.

To this Note of May 8 the Imperial German Government made no reply.

On Jan. 31 (Wednesday of the present week) the German Ambassador handed to the Secretary of State, along with a formal Note, a Memorandum which contained the following statement :—

The Imperial Government therefore does not doubt that the Government of the United

States will understand the situation thus forced upon Germany by the Entente Allies' brutal methods of war and by their determination to destroy the Central Powers, and that the Government of the United States will further realize that the now only disclosed intention of the Entente Allies gives back to Germany the freedom of action which she desired in the Note addressed to the Government of the United States on May 4, 1916. Under these circumstances Germany will meet the illegal measures of her enemies by forcibly preventing, after Feb. 1, 1917, in the zone around Great Britain, France, and Italy, and in the Eastern Mediterranean, all navigation, that of neutrals included, from and to England, from and to France, &c. All ships met within the zone will be sunk.

I think you will agree with me in view of this declaration, which suddenly, and without prior intimation of any kind, deliberately withdraws the solemn assurance given in the Imperial Government's Note of May 4, 1916, that this Government has no alternative, consistent with the dignity and honour of the United States, but to take the course which in its Note of April 8, 1916, it announced it would take in the event that the German Government did not declare and effect the abandonment of the methods of

submarine warfare which it was then employing, and to which it now purposes again to resort.

I therefore directed the Secretary of State to announce to his Excellency the German Ambassador that all diplomatic relations between the United States and the German Empire are severed and that the American Ambassador in Berlin will immediately be withdrawn, and, in accordance with this decision, to hand to his Excellency his passports.

Notwithstanding this unexpected action of the German Government, this sudden and deeply deplorable renunciation of its assurance given to this Government at one of the moments of most critical tension in the relations of the two Governments, I refuse to believe that it is the intention of the German authorities to do in fact what they have warned us they will feel at liberty to do. I cannot bring myself to believe that they will indeed pay no regard to the ancient friendship between their people and our own, or to the solemn obligations which have been exchanged between them, and destroy American ships and take the lives of American citizens in wilful prosecution of the ruthless naval programme they have announced their intention to adopt. Only actual overt acts on their part can make me believe this even now.

If this inveterate confidence on my part in the sobriety and prudent foresight of their purpose

should unhappily prove unfounded, if American ships and American lives should in fact be sacrificed by their naval commanders, in heedless contravention of the just and reasonable understandings of international law and the obvious dictates of humanity, I shall take the liberty of coming again before Congress to ask that authority be given to me to use any means that may be necessary for the protection of our seamen and our people in the prosecution of their peaceful, legitimate errands on the high seas.

I can do nothing less. I take it for granted that all neutral Governments will take the same course. We do not desire any hostile conflict with the Imperial German Government. We are sincere friends of the German people, and earnestly desire to remain at peace with the Government which speaks for them. We shall not believe that they are hostile to us unless and until we are obliged to believe it, and we purpose nothing more than reasonable defence of the undoubted rights of our people. We wish to serve no selfish ends. We seek merely to stand true, alike in thought and action, to the immemorial principles of our people which I have sought to express in my Address to the Senate only two weeks ago. We seek merely to vindicate our right to liberty, justice, and unmolested life.

These are bases of peace, not of war. God grant that we may not be challenged to defend them by acts of wilful injustice on the part of the Government of Germany.

VI.

The Second Inaugural (March 5, 1917).

MY FELLOW-CITIZENS, — The four years which have elapsed since last I stood in this place have been crowded with counsel and action of the most vital interest and consequences. Perhaps no equal period in our history has been so fruitful in important reforms in our economic and industrial life, or so full of significant changes in the spirit and purpose of our political action. We have sought very thoughtfully to set those in order, to correct the grosser errors and abuses of our industrial life, to liberate and quicken the processes of national genius and energy, and to lift politics to a broader view of the people's essential interests. It is a record of singular variety and singular distinction, but I shall not attempt to review it. It speaks for itself, and will be of increasing influence as the years go by.

This is not the time for retrospect. It is a time rather to speak over thoughts and purposes concerning the present and the immediate future. Although we have centred counsel and action with such unusual concentration and success upon the great problems of domestic legislation to which we addressed ourselves four years ago,

other matters have more and more forced themselves upon our attention—matters lying outside our own life as a nation and over which we have had no control, but which, despite our wish to keep free of them, have drawn us more and more irresistibly into their own current and influence. It has been impossible to avoid them. They have affected the life of the whole world and shaken men everywhere with passion and apprehension which they never knew before. It has been hard to preserve calm counsel while the thought of our own people has been swayed this way and that under their influence.

We are a composite and cosmopolitan people, we are of the brood of all the nations that are at war, the currents of our thoughts as well as the currents of our trade run quick at all seasons back and forth between us and them. The War has inevitably set its mark from the first alike upon our minds, our industries, our commerce, our politics, our social action. To be indifferent to it or independent of it was out of the question. Yet all the while we have been conscious that we are not a part of it, and in that consciousness, in spite of many divisions, we have been drawn closer together.

We have been deeply wronged upon the seas, but we have not wished to wrong or injure in return, and have retained throughout the consciousness of standing in some sort apart, intent

upon an interest that transcended the immediate issues of the War itself. As some of the injuries done to us have become intolerable we have still been clear that we wished nothing for ourselves that we were not ready to demand for all mankind—fair dealing, justice, and freedom to live and be at ease against organized wrong. It is in this spirit and with this thought that we have grown more and more aware and more and more certain that the part we wished to play was the part of those who mean to vindicate and fortify peace.

We have been obliged to arm ourselves to make good our claim to a certain minimum of right and freedom of action. We stand firm in an armed neutrality, since it seems that in no other way we can demonstrate what it is that we insist upon and cannot forgo. We may even be drawn on by circumstances, not by our own purpose or desire, to an active reassertion of our rights as we see them, and to more immediate association in the great struggle itself, but nothing will alter our thought or our purpose. They are too clear to be obscured. They are too deeply rooted in the principles of our national life to be altered.

We desire neither conquest nor advantage; we wish nothing that can be had only at the cost of another people. We have always professed an unselfish purpose, and we covet the oppor-

tunity to prove that our professions are sincere. There are many things still to do at home to clarify our own politics, and to add new vitality to the industrial processes of our own life, and we shall do them as time and opportunity serve; but we realize that the greatest things that remain to be done must be done with the whole world for a stage, and in co-operation with the wide universal forces of mankind, and we are making our spirits ready for those things. They will follow in the immediate wake of the War itself, and set civilization up again.

We are provincials no longer. The tragical events of thirty months of vital turmoil through which we have just passed have made us citizens of the world. There can be no turning back. Our own fortunes as a nation are involved, whether we would have it so or not, and yet we are not the less Americans if we but remain true to the principles in which we have been bred. They are not the principles of a province or of a single continent. We have known and boasted all along that they were the principles of liberated mankind.

These, therefore, are the things we shall stand for, whether in war or peace: that all nations are equally interested in the peace of the world and in the political stability of free peoples, and are equally responsible for their maintenance; that the essential principle of peace is the actual

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equality of all nations in all matters of right or privilege; that peace cannot securely or justly rest upon an armed balance of power; that Governments derive all their just powers from the consent of the governed, and that no other powers should be supported by the common thought, purpose, or powers of the family of nations; that the seas should be equally free and safe for the use of all peoples under rules set up by common agreement and consent, and that, so far as is practicable, they should be accessible to all upon equal terms; that national armaments should be limited to the necessities of national order and domestic safety; that the community of interest and power upon which peace will henceforth depend imposes upon each nation the duty of seeing to it that all influences proceeding from its own citizens meant to encourage or assist revolution in other States should be sternly and effectually suppressed and prevented.

I need not argue these principles to you, my fellow-countrymen. They are your own—part and parcel of your own thinking, of your own motive in affairs. They spring up native amongst us. Upon this, as upon a platform of purposes and action, we can stand together, and it is imperative that we should stand together.

We are being forced into a new unity amidst fires that now blaze throughout the world. In

their ardent heat we shall, in God's providence, let us hope, be purged of faction and division, purified of errant humours of party and private interest, and stand forth in the days to come with new dignity of national pride and spirit. Let each man see to it that the dedication is in his own heart, that the high purpose of the nation is in his own mind, that he is ruler of his own will and desire.

I stand here and have taken the high solemn oath to which you have been audience because the people of the United States have chosen me for this august delegation of power, and by their gracious judgment have named me their leader in affairs. I know now what the task means. I realize to the full the responsibility which it involves. I pray God that I may be given wisdom and prudence to do my duty in the true spirit of this great people. I am their servant, and can succeed only as they sustain and guide me by their confidence and their counsel.

The thing I shall count upon, and the thing without which neither counsel nor action avails, is the unity of America—an America united in feeling, in purpose, in its vision of duty and its opportunity of service. We have to beware of all men who would turn the tasks and necessities of the nation to their own private profit or use them for the upbuilding of private power.

Beware that no faction or disloyal intrigue

break the harmony or embarrass the spirit of our people. Beware that our Government be kept pure and incorrupt in all its parts. United alike in the conception of our duty and in the high resolve to perform it in face of all men, let us dedicate ourselves to the great task to which we must now set our hand. For myself I beg your tolerance, your countenance, your united aid.

The shadows that now lie dark upon our path will soon be dispelled. We shall walk with light all about us if we be but true to ourselves—to ourselves as we have wished to be known in the counsels of the world, in the thought of all those who love liberty, justice, and right exalted.

VII.

President Wilson's Speech to Congress, April 2, 1917.

I CALLED Congress in Extraordinary Session because there are serious, very serious, choices of policy to be made, and made immediately, which it was neither right constitutionally nor permissible I should assume the responsibility of making. On Feb. 3 last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the Imperial German Government that on and after Feb. 1 it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or humanity, and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland, or the western coasts of Europe, or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That had seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the War, but since April of last year the Imperial Government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given us that passenger boats should not be sunk, and due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy when no resistance was offered or escape attempted,

and care would be taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. The precautions then were meagre and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

The new policy swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, character, cargo, cargo destination, or errand, have been ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning, without thought of help or mercy for those on board vessels of friendly neutrals along with those of belligerents. Even hospital ships, ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with a safe-conduct through the prescribed areas by the German Government itself, and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, were sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion. The principle of international law had its origin in an attempt to set up some law which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had the right of dominion, where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up, with meagre enough results indeed, after all has been accomplished, always with a clear view at least of what the heart and conscience of mankind desired. This minimum

the German Government swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity, and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea, except those which it is impossible to employ, as it is employing them, without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or respect for the understandings supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as it is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatant men, women, and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be. The present German warfare against commerce is warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, and American lives taken in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with the moderation of counsel and temperateness of judgment befitting our character and motives as a nation. We must

put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only a vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion. When I addressed Congress on Feb. 26 last I thought it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence, but armed neutrality now appears impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks, as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, which are visible craft, when given chase upon the open sea. It is common prudence in such circumstances, of grim necessity indeed, to endeavour to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight if dealt with at all.

The German Government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has prescribed, even in defence of rights which no modern publicist ever before questioned. An intimation has been conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of the law and subject to be dealt with as pirates.

Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at the best in such circumstances. In the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual. It is likely to produce what it was meant to prevent. It is practically certain to draw us into war without either the rights or effectiveness of belligerents. There is one choice we cannot make and are incapable of making. We will not choose the path of submission, and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored and violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are not common wrongs; they cut to the very root of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn event and the tragical character of the step I am taking, and of the grave responsibilities which it involves but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that Congress declare—

That the recent course of the Imperial German Government is in fact nothing less than war against the Government and people of the United States;

That it formally accept the status of a belligerent which is thus thrust upon it; and

That it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of defence, but also to exert all its power and to employ its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the War.

What this involves is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable co-operation in council with the Governments now at war with Germany, and as incident thereto an extension to those Governments of the most liberal financial credits in order that our resources may as far as possible be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply materials of war to serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant, yet most economical and most effective way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war of at least 500,000 men, who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and as they can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the Government, sustained, I hope, so far as can equitably be sustained by the present generation, by well-conceived taxation. I say sustained as far as may be equitable by taxation because it seems to me it would be

unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely upon money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people as far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils which are likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans. In carrying out the measures whereby these things will be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible, in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces, with the duty, for it will be a very practical duty, of supplying nations already at war with Germany with materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field. We should help them in every way to be effective there. I take the liberty of suggesting through several executive departments of the Government for the consideration of your committees measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things—these deeply momentous things—let us make it very clear to all the world what our motives and our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from the

habitual normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months. I do not believe the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them. I have actually the same things in mind now as I had when I addressed the Senate on Jan. 22, the same that I had in mind when I addressed Congress on Feb. 3 and Feb. 26. Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish autocratic power, and to set up amongst really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and action as will henceforth ensure the observance of these principles. Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic Governments backed by organized force, which is controlled wholly by their will, and not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances. We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their Governments that are observed among individual citizens of civilized States. We have not quarrelled with the German people. We have no feeling towards them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Govern-

ment acted in entering this War. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old unhappy days, when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers, and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties, or little groups of ambitious men, who were accustomed to use their fellow-men as pawns and tools. Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbour States with spies or set in course an intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which would give them an opportunity to strike and make a conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked only under cover where no one has a right to ask questions. Cunningly contrived plans of deception or impression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from light only within the privacy of courts, or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs. A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by the partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic Government could be trusted to keep faith within it or observe its covenants. There must be a league of honour and partnership of opinion. Intrigue would eat its vitals away. Plottings by inner

circles, who would plan what they would and render an account to no one, would be corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honour steady to the common end, and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia? Russia was known by those who knew her best to have been always, in fact, democratic at heart in all vital habits, in her thought, and in all intimate relations of her people that spoke of their natural instinct and their habitual attitude towards life. The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it had stood and terrible as it was in the reality of its power, was not, in fact, Russian in origin, character, or purpose, and now it has been shaken and the great generous Russian people have been added in all their native majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a league of honour. One of the things that has served to convince us that Prussian autocracy was not, and could never be, our friend is that, from the very outset of the present war, it filled our unsuspecting communities, and even our offices of government,

with spies, and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity of council and our peace within and without, our industries and our commerce. Indeed, it is now evident that spies were here even before the War began.

It is, unhappily, not a matter of conjecture, but of fact, proved in our courts of justice, that intrigues which more than once came perilously near disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction, of official agents of the Imperial Government accredited to the Government of the United States. Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretation possible upon them, because we knew that their source lay not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people towards us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as ourselves), but only in selfish designs of a Government that did what it pleased, and told its people nothing. But they played their part in serving to convince us at last that that Government entertains no real friendship for us, and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience. That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors the intercepted Note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

"We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a Government, following such methods, we can never have a friend, and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world. We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty, and we shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad now that we see facts with no veil of false pretence about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world, for the liberation of its peoples—the German peoples included—the rights of nations, great and small, and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and obedience. The world must be safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon trusted foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquests and no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, and no material compensation for sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind, and shall be satisfied when those rights are as secure as fact and the freedom of nations can make them. Just because we fight without rancour and without selfish objects, seeking

nothing for ourselves but what we shall wish to share with all free peoples, we shall, I feel confident, conduct our operations as belligerents without passion, and ourselves observe with proud punctilio the principles of right and fair play we profess to be fighting for.

I have said nothing of Governments allied with the Imperial Government of Germany, because they have not made war upon us or challenged us to defend our rights and our honour. The Austro-Hungarian Government has, indeed, avowed its unqualified endorsement and acceptance of reckless and lawless submarine warfare, adopted now without disguise by the Imperial German Government, and it has, therefore, not been possible for this Government to receive Count Tarnowski, the Ambassador recently accredited to this Government by Austria-Hungary; but that Government has not actually engaged in warfare against the citizens of the United States on the seas, and I take the liberty, for the present at least, of postponing the discussion of our relations with the authorities in Vienna. We enter this War only where clearly forced into it, because there are no other means of defending our rights. It will be easier for us to conduct ourselves as belligerents in a high spirit of right and fairness because we act without animus, not in enmity towards a people, or with a desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon

them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible Government, which has thrown aside all considerations of humanity and right, and is running amok. We are, let me say again, sincere friends of the German people, and shall desire nothing so much as an early re-establishment of intimate relations to our mutual advantage. However hard it may be for them for the time being to believe this, it is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present Government through all these bitter months because of that friendship, exercising patience and forbearance which otherwise would have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and actions towards millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it towards all who in fact are loyal to their neighbours and to the Government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance. They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of different mind and purpose. If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with the firm hand of stern repression, but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there, and without countenance, except from the lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressing and oppressive duty, gentlemen of Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great and peaceful people into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars. Civilization itself seems to be in the balance, but right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts, for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own government, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for the universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as will bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself at last free. To such a task we can dedicate our lives, our fortunes, everything we are, everything we have, with the pride of those who know the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and might for the principles that gave her birth, and the happiness and peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

VIII.

Mr. Asquith in the House of Commons, April 18, 1917.

I DOUBT whether even now the world realizes the full significance of the step which America has taken. I do not use the language of flattery or of exaggeration when I say that it is one of the most disinterested acts in history. An inveterate tradition of more than one hundred years has made it a cardinal principle of American policy to keep clear of European entanglements. A war on such a scale as this must of necessity dislocate international commerce and finance, but on balance it was, I think, doing little appreciable harm to the material fortunes and prosperity of the American people. Nor were distinctively American interests at home or abroad, and least of all what is the greatest of all interests in a democratic community—the maintenance of domestic independence and liberty—directly imperilled by the ambitions and designs of the Central Powers. What, then, is it that has enabled the President, after waiting, with the patience which Pitt once described as "the first virtue of statesmanship," for the right moment, to carry with him a united nation into

the hazards and the horrors of the greatest war in history? It is not a calculation of material gain. It is not in the hope of territorial aggrandizement. It is not even the pricking of one of those so-called points of honour which in days gone by have driven nations as they used to drive individuals into the duelling ground. No, it is none of these things; it is the constraining force of conscience and of humanity, growing in strength and in compulsive authority month by month with the gradual unfolding before the eyes of the world of the real character of German aims and German methods. It is that force, and that force alone, which has brought home to the judgment of the great democracy over the seas the momentous truth that they were standing at the parting of the ways, and that they had to make one of those decisions which in the lives both of men and of communities determine for good or for evil their whole future.

What was it that our kinsmen in America realized was at issue in this unexampled conflict? The very things which they and we, if we are to be worthy of what is noblest in our common history, are bound to vindicate as the essential conditions of a free and honourable development of the nations of the world—justice, humanity, respect of law, consideration for the weak and the unprotected, chivalry towards their enemies, the observance of good faith—these, which we all

used to regard as the commonplaces of international decency, have one after another been flouted, menaced, trodden under foot as though they were the effete superstitions of bygone days. America sees that there is here at issue something of wider import than the vicissitudes of battle-fields, or even the rearrangement of the map of Europe on the basis of nationality. The whole future of civilized government and intercourse, in particular the fortunes and the fate of democracy, are brought into peril. In such a situation aloofness is seen to be not only a blunder, but a crime. To stand aside with stopped ears, with folded arms, with an averted gaze, when you have the power to intervene, is to become not a mere spectator, but an accomplice. There was never in the minds of any of us any fear, from the moment the issue became apparent and unmistakable, that the voice of America would utter an uncertain note. She has now dedicated herself, without hesitation or reserve, with heart and soul and strength, to the greatest of all causes. To that cause, stimulated and fortified by her comradeship, we here renew our own fealty and devotion.

IX.

Mr. Wilson's Speech in Washington Monument Grounds, June 14, 1917.

WE know now clearly, as we knew before we ourselves were engaged in the War, that we are not enemies of the German people, and they are not our enemies. They did not originate, or desire, this hideous war, or wish that we should be drawn into it, and we are vaguely conscious that we are fighting their cause, as they will some day see it themselves, as well as our own. They themselves are in the grip of the same sinister power that has stretched its ugly talons out and drawn blood from us.

The War was begun by the military masters of Germany, who have proved themselves to be also the masters of Austria-Hungary. These men never regarded nations as peoples of men, women, and children of like blood and frame as themselves, for whom Governments existed and in whom Governments had their life. They regarded them merely as serviceable organizations, which they could, either by force or intrigue, bend or corrupt to their own purpose. They regarded the smaller States, particularly, and those peoples, who could be overwhelmed by force, as their natural tools and instruments of domination.

Their purpose had long been avowed. The statesmen of other nations, to whom that purpose was incredible, paid little attention, and regarded what the German professors expounded in their class-rooms and the German writers set forth to the world as the goal of German policy as rather the dream of minds detached from practical affairs and the preposterous private conceptions of Germany's destiny than the actual plans of responsible rulers. But the rulers of Germany knew all the while what concrete plans, what well-advanced intrigue, lay at the back of what professors and writers were saying, and were glad to go forward unmolested, filling the thrones of the Balkan States with German princes, putting German officers at the service of Turkey, developing plans of sedition and rebellion in India and Egypt, and setting their fires in Persia.

The demands made by Austria upon Serbia were a mere single step in the plan which compassed Europe and Asia from Berlin to Bagdad. They hoped that these demands might not arouse Europe, but they meant to press them, whether they did or not. For they thought themselves ready for the final issue of arms. Their plan was to throw a belt of German military power and political control across the very centre of Europe and beyond the Mediterranean into the heart of Asia, and Austria-Hungary was to be as much their tool and pawn as Serbia, Bulgaria, Turkey,

or the ponderous States of the East. Austria-Hungary, indeed, was to become a part of the Central German Empire, absorbed and dominated by the same forces and influences that originally cemented the German States themselves.

The dream had its heart at Berlin. It could have had its heart nowhere else. It rejected entirely the idea of the solidarity of race. The choice of peoples played no part at all in the contemplated binding together of the racial and political units, which could keep together only by force. And they actually carried the greater part of that amazing plan into execution.

Look how things stand. Austria, at their mercy, has acted, not upon its own initiative or upon the choice of its own people, but at Berlin's dictation ever since the War began. Its people now desire peace, but they cannot have it until leave is granted from Berlin. The so-called Central Powers are, in fact, but a single Power. Serbia is at its mercy should its hand be but for a moment freed; Bulgaria consented to its will; Rumania is overrun by the Turkish armies, which the Germans trained into serving Germany, and the guns of the German warships lying in the harbour at Constantinople remind the Turkish statesmen every day that they have no choice but to take their orders from Berlin.

From Hamburg to the Persian Gulf the net is spread. Is it not easy to understand the eager-

ness for peace that has been manifested by Berlin ever since the snare was set and sprung? "Peace, peace, peace" has been the talk of her Foreign Office for a year or more, not peace upon her own initiative, but upon the initiative of the nations over which she now deems herself to hold the advantage. A little of the talk has been public, but most of it has been private, through all sorts of channels. It has come to me in all sorts of guises, but never with the terms disclosed which the German Government would be willing to accept.

That Government has other valuable pawns in its hands besides those I have mentioned. It still holds a valuable part of France, though with a slowly relaxing grasp, and practically the whole of Belgium. Its armies press close on Russia and overrun Poland. It cannot go farther—it dare not go back. It wishes to close its bargain before it is too late and it has little left to offer for the pound of flesh it will demand. The military masters under whom Germany is bleeding see very clearly to what point fate has brought them: if they fall back or are forced back an inch, their power abroad and at home will fall to pieces. It is their power at home of which they are thinking now more than of their power abroad. It is that power which is trembling under their very feet.

Deep fear has entered their hearts. They

have but one chance to perpetuate their military power, or even their controlling political influence. If they can secure peace now, with the immense advantage still in their hands, they will have justified themselves before the German people. They will have gained by force what they promised to gain by it—an immense expansion of German power and an immense enlargement of German industrial and commercial opportunities. Their prestige will be secure, and with their prestige their political power.

If they fail, their people will thrust them aside. A Government accountable to the people themselves will be set up in Germany, as has been the case in England, the United States, and France—in all great countries of modern times except Germany. If they succeed they are safe, and Germany and the world are undone. If they fail, Germany is saved and the world will be at peace. If they succeed, America will fall within the menace, and we, and all the rest of the world, must remain armed, as they will remain, and must make ready for the next step in their aggression. If they fail, the world may unite for peace and Germany may be of the union.

Do you not now understand the new intrigue for peace, and why the masters of Germany do not hesitate to use any agency that promises to effect their purpose, the deceit of nations?

Their present particular aim is to deceive all those who, throughout the world, stand for the rights of peoples and the self-government of nations, for they see what immense strength the forces of justice and liberalism are gathering out of this war. They are employing Liberals in their enterprises. Let them once succeed, and these men, now their tools, will be ground to powder beneath the weight of the great military Empire; the Revolutionists of Russia will be cut off from all succour and the co-operation of Western Europe, and a counter-revolution will be fostered and supported; Germany herself will lose her chance of freedom, and all Europe will arm for the next final struggle.

The sinister intrigue is being no less actively conducted in this country than in Russia and in every country of Europe into which the agents and dupes of the Imperial German Government can get access. That Government has many spokesmen here, in places both high and low. They have learned discretion; they keep within the law. It is opinion they utter now, not sedition. They proclaim the liberal purposes of their masters, and they declare that this is a foreign war, which can touch America with no danger either to her lands or institutions. They set England at the centre of the stage, and talk of her ambition to assert her economic dominion throughout the world. They appeal to our

ancient tradition of isolation, and seek to undermine the Government with false professions of loyalty to its principles.

But they will make no headway. Falsehood betrays them in every accent. These facts are patent to all the world, and nowhere more plainly than in the United States, where we are accustomed to deal with facts, not sophistries; and the great fact that stands out above all the rest is that this is a peoples' war for freedom, justice and self-government among all the nations of the world, a war to make the world safe for the peoples who live upon it, the German people included, and that with us rests the choice to break through all these hypocrisies, the patent cheats and masks of brute force, and help set the world free, or else stand aside and let it be dominated through sheer weight of arms and the arbitrary choices of the self-constituted masters by the nation which can maintain the biggest armies, the most irresistible armaments, a power to which the world has afforded no parallel, in the face of which political freedom must wither and perish.

For us there was but one choice. We have made it, and woe be to that man, or that group of men, that seeks to stand in our way in this day of high resolution, when every principle we hold dearest is to be vindicated and made secure for the salvation of the nation. We are ready to plead

at the bar of history, and our flag shall wear a new lustre. Once more we shall make good with our lives and fortunes the great faith to which we are born; and a new glory shall shine in the face of our people.

X.

U.S. Reply to the Pope, August 28, 1917.

The reply of the President of the United States to the Pope's Note has been issued by the United States Embassy in London. It is as follows :—

IN acknowledging the communication of his Holiness the Pope to the belligerent peoples, the President of the United States has requested the Secretary of State to make the following reply :—

Every heart that has not been blinded and hardened by this terrible war must be touched by this moving appeal of his Holiness the Pope, must feel the dignity and force of the humane and generous motives which prompted it, and must fervently wish that we might take the path of peace he so persuasively points out. But it would be folly to take it if it does not in fact lead to the goal he proposes. Our response must be based upon the stern facts and upon nothing else ; it is not a mere cessation of arms he desires ; it is a stable and enduring peace. This agony must not be gone through with again, and it must be a matter of very sober judgment what will insure us against it.

His Holiness in substance proposes that we return to the *status quo ante bellum*, and that then there can be a general condonation, disarmament, and a concert of nations based upon an acceptance of the principle of arbitration; that by a similar concert freedom of the seas be established; and that the territorial claims of France and Italy, the perplexing problems of the Balkan States, and the restitution of Poland be left to such conciliatory adjustments as may be possible in the new temper of such a peace, due regard being paid to the aspirations of the peoples whose political fortunes and affiliations will be involved.

It is manifest that no part of this programme can be successfully carried out unless the restitution of the *status quo ante* furnishes a firm and satisfactory basis for it. The object of this war is to deliver the free peoples of the world from the menace and the actual power of a vast military establishment controlled by an irresponsible Government which, having secretly planned to dominate the world, proceeded to carry the plan out without regard either to the sacred obligations of treaty or the long-established practices and long-cherished principles of international action and honour; which chose its own time for the war; delivered its blow fiercely and suddenly; stopped at no barrier either of law or of mercy; swept a whole conti-

nent within the tide of blood, not the blood of soldiers only, but the blood of innocent women and children also and of the helpless poor; and now stands balked but not defeated, the enemy of four-fifths of the world. This power is not the German people. It is the ruthless master of the German people. It is no business of ours how that great people came under its control or submitted to its temporary zest, to the domination of its purpose; but it is our business to see to it that the history of the rest of the world is no longer left to its handling.

To deal with such a power by way of peace upon the plan proposed by his Holiness the Pope would, so far as we can see, involve a recuperation of the strength and renewal of the policy; would make it necessary to create a permanent hostile combination of the nations against the German people, who are its instruments; would result in abandoning the new-born Russia to the intrigue, the manifold subtle interference, and the certain counter-revolution, which would be attempted by all the malign influences to which the German Government has of late accustomed the world. Can peace be based upon a restitution of its power or upon any word of honour it could pledge in a treaty of settlement and accommodation?

Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can

rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of Governments, the rights of peoples, great or small, weak or powerful, their equal right to freedom and security and self-government, and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German peoples, of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination.

The test, therefore, of every plan of peace is this: Is it based upon the faith of all the peoples involved, or merely upon the word of an ambitious and intriguing Government on the one hand and of a group of free peoples on the other? This is a test which goes to the root of the matter; and it is the test which must be applied.

The purposes of the United States in this war are known to the whole world—to every people to whom the truth has been permitted to come. They do not need to be stated again. We seek

no material advantage of any kind. We believe that the intolerable wrongs done in this war by the furious and brutal power of the Imperial German Government ought to be repaired, but not at the expense of the sovereignty of any people—rather in vindication of the sovereignty both of those that are weak and of those that are strong. Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient, and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace. That must be based upon justice and fairness and the common rights of mankind.

We cannot take the word of the present rulers of Germany as a guarantee of anything that is to endure, unless explicitly supported by such conclusive evidence of the will and purpose of the German people themselves as the other peoples of the world would be justified in accepting. Without such guarantees, treaties of settlement, agreements for disarmament, covenants to set up arbitration in the place of force, territorial adjustments, reconstitutions of small nations, if made with the German Government, no man, no nation, could now depend on. We must await some new evidence of the purposes of the great peoples of the Central Empires. God grant it may be given soon, and in a way to restore the

confidence of all peoples everywhere in the faith of the nations and the possibility of a covenanted peace.

ROBERT LANSING,
Secretary of State
of the United States of America.

J. E. Francis, 13 Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.

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